1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 149), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai *pater familias* taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this land of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-aiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Ainer clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mwiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Ainer sitting on [illegible] the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at [illegible] becomes an elder.

3: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

83 sweetheart (*o-ongiti*) a girl of the same sub-clan as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-le'tuaa* and *ang'tuaa*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his sub-clan.'

531 583 837 The payment of the bridal price authorizes a Masai to reckon the children which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognized, sexual communism or something very like it prevails between all the men of one age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Masai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organization of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-clans and the rules regarding incest.

[934] 935 684 If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-clan, he is punished by his relations, who fine him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his cows are slaughtered. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two cows, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

935 684 If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to "kill the relationship" (*o-ser ang-ongiti*).

813 833 [896] 682 684 833 834 A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the child cuts the two middle lower teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *ol-kidiwuo*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, smearing and anointing the animals with their garments.

Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when

* For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. 297. An age-grade contains of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 15 years. See *The Masai*, p. 302.

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

Number of cattle.		Cattle per Gate. Gates.		Percentage.
Under 50	—	32	—	10.1%
50 — 100	—	62	—	17.9%
101 — 200	—	183	—	37.5%
201 — 300	—	113	—	22.4%
301 — 400	—	34	—	6.8%
401 — 500	—	11	—	2.1%
501 — 600	—	9	—	1.7%
601 — 700	—	3		
701 — 800	—	2		
801 — 900	—	1	—	1.3%
901 —1000	—	1		
Over 1000	—	1		
		Total 514		

As 156,308 cattle were owned by these 514 gates it follows that the average number per gate is just over three hundred, but this figure is misleading, for two-thirds of the gates possess less than two hundred head.*

The advantages of marriage not only include the acquisition of a woman to bear one's children and to tend one's cattle. For marriage sets up a new relationship with one's wife's family, whereby each party is expected to help the other. If a father-in-law loses his cattle by drought or disease, the son-in-law is expected to contribute towards a new herd; if a son-in-law strikes hard times, the father-in-law — if only for the sake of his daughter — will transfer cattle to him.

At times, also, a daughter will, by amicable arrangement with the son-in-law, return to live with her father for considerable periods, being visited from time to time by her husband, or again a grandson will be sent from home to help herd his grandfather's cattle.

The fulfilment of these various obligations leads to much travelling and consequent contact, almost as much as the actual betrothal and marriage does. This latter is a lengthy process. Early betrothal is the rule and involves a long engagement, during which the man is expected to maintain contact with his future in-laws. Frequent travelling is also necessary in other connections; for example a man goes himself or sends a son to examine the water and pasture of the area to which he proposes to move, and as we have seen the morans are always on the move, visiting friends, begging bullocks for meat-feasts, etc. So in spite of the size of the area which they inhabit, and of their scattered settlements, the Masai maintain very close contact amongst themselves.

Another point of considerable importance in Masai family affairs is the adoption of children, frequently practised both in respect of Masai

* The mean number of cattle per gate lies between 100 and 200 or between 25 and 50 head per adult male taxpayer—Ed.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Summary of Warriorhood.

From boyhood upwards to the Elders' stage there are the following recognized steps, each with appropriate "rites de passage," except in the last stage.

(1) *Candidate Stage.*—After the boys have attained puberty, as shown by the first signs of hair growth on the face, they form bands who wander about the country receiving presents, and finally there is the horn-seizing ceremony, after which the candidates are circumcised and enter the novice stage.

(2) *Novice Stage.*—No sex life is permitted to novices, who during their novitiate wander about with bows and arrows shooting birds for head-dresses. This stage is concluded by a head-shaving ceremony, after which the novices enter full warriorhood.

(3) *Junior Warrior Stage.*—This is a period of roughly nine years from the end of the novitiate. During this time—with certain exceptions—no warrior may shave the hair off his head. Life is in the *manyattas*. This period is concluded by the *Eunoto* ceremony and a general head-shaving which marks the entry into the senior warrior stage.

(4) *Senior Warrior Stage.*—Warriors remain in this class until there are two age-groups in it, and then transfer to the Elders' group. Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage cannot take place unless there are two age-groups ready to move up together.

PART IV.—GIRLHOOD.

Work.—As soon as girls are old enough to do so, at the age of about seven, they start helping their mothers and sisters in the general work of the village, sweeping out the huts, milking the cows, nursing the children, drawing water and sewing skins. There is, however, one sort of work which is never done by any uninitiated girl, and that is getting firewood. This work is specially reserved for married women. The girls' work may either be in the home village or else in a warrior's *manyatta*, should they have brothers living in a *manyatta*.

Sex Life.—From a very early age indeed the young girls imbibe the general atmosphere of Masai sex life. As already mentioned, those of them who have brothers living in the *manyattas* sleep from a very early age—long before puberty—on the same beds as couples indulging in sexual intercourse; and even those girls who live in the home villages learn all about such matters at a very early age owing to the fact that they always sleep on their mother's bed. As soon as ever the first signs of puberty are noticeable, girls may be asked by the warriors to sleep with them, and the question of whether there is complete intercourse or not rests then entirely with the girls. Moreover, the uninitiated boys, and especially those who tour the villages as candidates for initiation, expect any young girls who are not already

/43 cont./

601 605 [131] The designations abula, en gijo, arabá, and 'n gíba are used only as long as the above-mentioned terms of address are not affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address ol aischa 'Ng ai, because the girl is not in a position to make the necessary gift of livestock.

601 The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with na gerai ai = my child. The address for the grandfather runs ng akuja, for the grandmother koko. The grandfather calls the grandson ng akuj'ai; [131] [151] the grandmother, koko ai. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

IV.

600 Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

581 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary Negro neighbors. As among the latter -- and, to be sure, without exception (1) --

595 [571]

1. The so-called monogamy of the Wambugwe is in practice the boldest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. 581 There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a [583] more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes [618] into the family of her /44/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

/213 cont./

439 designate the first one as en aŋga en djore, i.e., war cloth, because the warriors like to dress up in it; the konguru they call en aŋga bos, i.e., colored cloth, and the gamti, ol garaccha.

43 The demand for the individual trade articles varies a great deal. At times the need for one kind is so well supplied that it is either not taken at all or far below its value. Correspondingly, the value of another kind often rises disproportionately high through the heightened demand. A lengthy discussion back and forth precedes every exchange or purchase transaction. As a sign of a settlement, the seller spits [452] on the object. The exchange follows at once; only trustworthy acquaintances are granted credit. The risk in the matter, for cattle, does not pass to the buyer until the day after purchase, otherwise immediately.

426 686 The creditor proceeds against a nonpaying debtor first by complaint, and if this remains without effect, he helps himself to his property by force, provided that the debtor can comfortably pay, but for some reason, usually one that has nothing to do with the debt, does not want to pay: a road that is also often taken as the only one. Only upon his impoverishment will the creditor become earnestly pressing. [572] Then, if the debtor is incapable of paying, his brothers and half brothers, or if such are not present or are unavailable, his paternal cousins must pay. Whether the former or the latter pay, the repayment of the debt is always arranged so that no great economic hardship arises for the one paying. The creditor, if he does not voluntarily [526] enter upon the arrangement, is forced into it by the public opinion, which is often expressed in violence. An inconsiderate collection of an outstanding debt actually never occurs; rather, the creditor almost always displays an extraordinary kind-heartedness and forbearance about it and often lets himself be put off for years or waits patiently until the debtor or his heir is in such a good position that the repayment of the debt will be easy for them. It may also happen that the [581] creditor takes a daughter of the debtor and, after she has reached marriageable age in the service of one of his wives, marries her. [583] Since the creditor, even in this case, /214/ pays his father-in-law the bride price, the debt remains standing in full and the friendship [572] bond only makes its repayment more certain. The heir is liable for

/331 cont./
purity (1).

*539
*773
*171
*121
304
[186]

1. That circumcision among the Israelites -- as is assumed -- attained religious significance only during the Exile is refuted, it seems to me, by the use of the stone knife in earliest times.

as the Bible often designates it.

Circumcision certainly does not owe its origin to considerations of cleanliness -- as one so often hears -- since the desire for cleanliness could be satisfied more simply in other ways and without an operation not always entirely safe. Furthermore, we also find this custom preferred precisely among those peoples who certainly do not attach any particular value to cleanliness. Moreover, however, I also doubt that /332/ the utility of circumcision in the matter of cleanliness is actually so great, for among the only very scantily clad primitive peoples the part in question is so much more exposed to the effect of dust, etc. and injury by thorns, spiny leaves, blossoms, and grasses than it would be otherwise.

[581] The circumcision of girls among primitive peoples may also be interpreted as a preparation for marriage. Among the Masai, besides the point in time at which it is undertaken, the way of life of the girls before and after the operation argues in favor of this. Clitoride excisa libido diminuitur et cohabitandi cupiditas retinetur. /Clitoridean excision lessens desire and, in cohabiting, restrains passion./ This [843] [853] has, in the opinion of the people, great advantages for the growing and suckling child, as is also shown by the continence rules of the Masai during pregnancy and the suckling period.

As we know, the Bible knows of no circumcision of the girls. That such was customary in Egypt, however, even during the oldest Biblical period, is taught by the 15th of the British papyri, in which there is mention of the circumcision of the girl Tatemi, the daughter of Nehet of Memphis. Here, too, the girls were circumcised at the age of puberty (1).

1. Flom, "Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der

4: Kenyatta I-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

perished by starvation, thus feeding vultures and hungry hyenas. In places where there were no such natural barriers, and where the two tribes came into contact frequently, peace treaties were signed and friendly relations established. In this case intermarriages were one form of peace-making.

To take a concrete case, my grandmother, on my father's side, was a Masai woman called Mosana, and in reciprocity for this friendly feeling, my aunt (i.e. elder sister of my father) was married to a Masai chief called Sendeu, and was treated as the head-wife. Exchange visits were made on both sides, and I had the opportunity of visiting her and stayed there for some months as a member of the family.

In territories where this friendly relationship was established, especially between the Kaptei Masai and the Southern Gikuyu, the warriors of the two tribes joined together to invade another section of Masai, like Loita or a section of Gikuyu, like Mbeere or Tharaka. This information was given to me by my grandfather, Kongo wa Magana, who led several of these attacks as a fighting warrior and later as a magician of war.

It can be said that the relation between one tribe and another was no more or less than the relations existing in the present day between various tribes of Europe and America. The only difference is that the relations between European countries involve great suffering for the majority of the people, either through economic fights, tariff barriers and distribution of wealth, etc., or through actual fights in battle-fields. The case of the Spanish Civil War, where one tribe is fighting between itself, or the case of Japan and China, where a strong tribe is trying to dominate a weaker one, are illustrations.

The raids in the tribal warfare affected only a few villages,